UNITY

FREEDOM FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor 1880-1918)

Editors

John Haynes Holmes Francis Neilson

Other Religions—and Ours

By ALSON H. ROBINSON

The Outlawry of War

By EMIL G. HIRSCH

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOL. XC THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 15, 1923 NUMBER 22

LINCOLN.

Lincoln, come back to us, for all our ways are changed
From open difference between right and wrong.
Only the strong
Are right. We are estranged
From our own childhood. We have fought a war
Illumined with the name
Of liberty—yet, unashamed of shame,
We sell the liberty we fought it for.

Lincoln, come back
To make our cowardice brave.
There is no darkness in the grave
Like to this lack
Of decent manhood, no decay in death
Like to this lust
For comfortable importance and no dust
In any mouth so cruel as our living breath.

Ireland has cried to us. Perhaps we heard.
China we seem to answer. India we may befriend.
And yet we only swagger and pretend
When, infamous, we speak the word
You, Lincoln, spoke for us and dare to call
A race like this American at all:
A traitor-race,
Enslaving Haiti, casting out the truth
From Santo Domingo, fouling its own youth. . . .
Lincoln, come back and look us in the face.

The Freeman. —*Witter Bynner.*

This sure is a funny world. We say so! If it wasn't so funny, we would long since have died of sheer agony. As it is, we laugh, for very joy of the irony of circumstance. Just look at some of the things that are going on right now! Here is France, which screamed to high heaven against invasion in 1914, now herself invading the territory of her unarmed neighbor, justifying her acts of brigandage and oppression by the precedents of the German occupation of Belgium, and all in demonstration of the highly interesting principle that the way to collect a debt is to ruin your debtor. Here is Germany, the outstanding military power of the world in 1914, now, less than ten years later, practising the policy of passive resistance on a scale hitherto unknown in history! Here is Russia—the materialistic, atheistic, religion-hating, priest-baiting land of the Bolsheviki, the nation red with the blood of persecution and massacre—now teaching the Christian powers of the world how to solve the Armenian question by offering asylum, in the spirit of charity, to the minorities stricken of misery in Turkey. Behold the Ku Klux Klan, raiding, rioting, raping, in the name of old-time American liberty and law. See Warren G. Harding, President of the land of "the founding fathers," holding fast in jail men who took seriously the rights of freedom for the sake of which these fathers precipitated revolution. Look at William T. Manning, Bishop of a church which began as a heresy fiercely persecuted by the priests of the established order of that day, now calling to account and threatening with excommunication a heretic of this day. Ha! ha! it is to laugh. Such inconsistencies, such ironies! And all at the expense of those who are most respectable and wise and good! The righteous of this world confounded, and the high and mighty busily making idiots of themselves! O Lord—this is our prayer!—help us to be of no reputation. Remove us from the "unco guid," and set us down among the outcast and despised. Above all, dear God, give us a sense of humor, that with laughter we may cleanse our soul!

We wonder how many people are noting the striking and significant parallel between Russia and Germany. Both countries were defeated in the Great War—Brest-Litovsk was the precursor of Versailles. Both underwent the terrific experience of revolution—in Russia it was more thorough-going than in Germany, but the same social phenomenon was at work. The next step in Russia was that of the blockade and armed invasion from without; this step has just come in Germany, through the French occupancy of the Ruhr. Whether Germany will be as successful as Russia was in overcoming her enemies remains to be seen; she certainly cannot meet them, as the Bolsheviki did, with armies. But the process under way is the same, and, if it goes on uninterruptedly, as now seems likely, the same collapse and ruin will result. What Moscow was yesterday and still very largely is today, Berlin will be tomorrow. It is this point of view which helps us to see that the wreckage of Russia is no isolated fact, occasioned by the stupidity or wickedness, or both, of the Soviets. Through all Europe, from west to east, as the result of the impact of the war, we see the progressive stages of one vast but single process of social disintegration. Russia went first and suffered most terribly, as she was the country least developed

and therefore least able to stand the strain of universal conflict. But the other nations are now following along, with doom everywhere impending. If Russia is to be differentiated from Germany and western Europe generally, it is in the fact that she has discovered a group of statesmen who have succeeded in the face of enormous, indeed what seemed to be, insuperable difficulties, in stopping the process of death. Russia came to the very threshold of extinction as a civilized nation, but was stayed in time, and is now very slowly but none the less surely moving toward recovery. The rest of Europe, however, is still sweeping toward destruction. Are there no statesmen to do for Germany and France what Lenin and his associates have done for Russia?

There are disquieting signs a-plenty that the German passive resistance policy against France is breaking down. It is a pity—for it was making a demonstration of effectiveness that was holding the attention of the world. Unarmed and therefore helpless in every material sense, the people of Germany were holding all the military forces of France at bay, and making all the expectations of the occupation to be futile. If nothing more is accomplished, however, than this demonstration of the first three weeks, it is perhaps enough—or at least all that can be expected for the time being. For what we have secured is a perfect answer to the challenge always flung at the pacifist in discussion of the Great War—namely, What could the Belgians and French have done in 1914 but fight? To this the pacifist has always declared that the Belgians and French could have done "nothing"—simply have paid no attention to the German invasion, gone about their daily work as though nothing were happening, refused to obey all orders emanating from German sources, abandoned railway, telegraph, postal, business service of every kind, resisted in passive form every attempt of the invaders to rule them or control them, but done individual kindnesses wherever possible. Of course, this policy would have cost something; men would have been shot, others deported or expelled from occupied territory, some destruction wrought, Paris perhaps captured. But did not the policy actually adopted, that of armed resistance, cost something; is it imaginable that the most disastrous consequences of passive resistance would have equalled in kind or in degree what was actually wrought by the war? Nor would Belgium and France have been conquered! Within a week, the German army, meeting with no resistance in arms, would have been demoralized. Within a month the fiction of an invaded Germany as the justification of the campaign, would have been exploded. Within six months the radical forces inside of Germany, enormously powerful and always opposed to the junkers and their militarism, joined with a populace suffering from war privations and undeceived, would have mobilized for revolution and ended the war forthwith, just as the Germans today can count upon an uprising in France, in protest against the disasters of the Ruhr, to crown their passive resistance policy with success. What is lacking in our western world, apparently, is the spiritual discipline necessary for such an essentially spiritual task as that of non-resistance. At bottom we are materialists; we have no belief in the reality of spiritual forces, and therefore no confidence that such forces can be relied upon to save us. And yet—there they are! visible at intervals, like a light-house in a storm, even to the blindest eyes. In the New York *Times*, of all places, appeared this statement a few days ago: "With more clearness than the French have done, Germans have learned from the war this lesson, that violence is always in the wrong when opposed to quietness and courage."

The only cheerful news that has come to us from Europe for many months comes, strangely enough, from Austria. It will be remembered that this unhappy fragment of a nation was some time ago put in charge of the League of Nations. A report just received from Dr. Alfred Zimmerman, of Rotterdam, the physician on the case, indicates some indications of improvement. Thus, the currency has been stabilized at about 70,000 kroner to the dollar. In addition, the cost of living has somewhat decreased. In the third place—a truly remarkable fact!—the savings in the country have grown in three months from 11,000,000,000 paper kroner to 86,000,000,000. All this looks impressive, especially in view of what we encountered in Austria last summer, when, for example, in our three days in Vienna, the kroner fell from 57,000 to 62,000 to the dollar. We wonder if it means that the process of social disintegration has actually been stayed in this most helpless and therefore pitiful of all the Central European states. We hope so—and would perhaps be able to believe so, were it not for what is happening in the Ruhr and other critical points. What we have here is a sign that, if Europe would only drop her hatreds and hostilities and devote her energies to constructive enterprises of healing, it is not too late for her to be saved. It cannot be too strongly emphasized that the point of doom has not yet been passed! On the other hand, however, it still remains true that the main currents of European life are still sweeping steadily and swiftly in this direction, and, that while this continues, little eddies of recovery here and there, like those now in Austria and earlier in Czechoslovakia, have no significance. Europe, properly speaking, is an economic and social unit. Her peoples and governments must be saved together, or not at all.

Another side to this Austrian business is suggested by the fact that the announcement of the improved condition of the country is coincident with the floating of a loan backed by the powers chiefly responsible for the League of Nations. Now what does this mean? Well, in other countries which are small and weak, the floating of a loan is the second step in the work of establishing a policy of imperialistic exploitation, as the taking over of the political control of the country is the first step. The succession of events in Egypt, Morocco, Tunis, Haiti, Santo Domingo, is always the same. Disturbed social conditions, real or alleged; intervention in the interest of stability and order, leading to political control; a loan, in the interest of rehabilitation, leading to economic control; exploitation, leading ultimately to a protectorate and finally, in many cases, to annexation! Now in Austria it has been the consensus of opinion for months that the country could not, in the very necessities of the case, survive alone. The surgery of Versailles was absolutely fatal to her continuance as a separate nation. Austrians themselves, of course, have wanted annexation to Germany. When this was seen to be impossible, in view of the opposition of the Allies, annexation to Czechoslovakia and even to Italy became subjects of eager public discussion. Now comes the intervention of the League, and the international loan—which surely mean that, for all practical purposes, Austria has been joined to the Entente! As a national entity, she doesn't amount to much, but she has forests and coal mines, radio stations and railroads, and occupies a strategic military position in Central Europe. All in all, it looks to us as though Austria had fallen suddenly to the status of a colony or protectorate.

We tell you, friends, we've got to keep an eye on these alien fellers. Here they come sneaking into this country, with murder in their hearts and bombs in their packs, for the fell and foul purpose of destroying this government. It is true that millions have been coming in for scores of years, and the government still stands; but that only shows how diabolically clever these aliens are. They have been postponing this work of destruction all these many years, in order to lull us into a false sense of security. They have been seeking to convince us that they are all right, and can thus be trusted with freedom. Now that we are sound asleep, the moment of supreme peril is at hand. Conspiracies are a-foot. The alien is lurking in his lair, plotting his plots, gnashing his teeth, gloating in anticipation of the day of vengeance which is at hand. It is the fortunate unmasking of this dreadful situation by alert one hundred per centers which has saved the nation in the nick of time. We now know the alien for what he is —a foul assassin of the Republic's life. Uncovered at last, he must remain uncovered. Witness, for example, the enlightened action of Federal Judge Morton in Boston, forbidding the obliteration of racial elements through the use of old-time American names by naturalized foreigners! Adolph Papkevitz, petitioning for a change of name to Parker, was forced to adopt the name of Popkin; Hyman Sorocovech, asking for the name of Stone, was given the name of Soroko. O wise and learned judge! Brand these foreigners for what they are,—show them up as aliens and therefore enemies, that they may be known, watched, spied upon, spat upon, outlawed, imprisoned, deported! Thus only can America be made safe for democracy!

We were talking with an undertaker the other day in one of these so-called "funeral parlors" which are coming to be so curious a feature of life in New York City. In this particular case, the "parlor" or "chapel" was connected with the warerooms of a wholesale casket company which does a large business throughout the nation, and the man with whom we were talking was thus familiar with conditions everywhere. "This idea of a funeral parlor," we said, "is spreading very rapidly in New York. People used to bury their dead from the home or the church, but now they seem more and more inclined to go to the undertaker's establishment." We then made some remark about the crowded living conditions in New York—the small apartments, the remote churches—and ventured the suggestion that in other places it was different.

"Not at all," said our friend. "These undertakers' parlors or chapels are springing up everywhere. You find them all through the east and the middle west in all the cities, and increasingly in the towns and villages. Undertakers are now making a practice of taking a house, furnishing the lower floor exactly like a home, and using this as the place for funerals. The business is growing rapidly along these lines. Most interesting!"

Interesting indeed—and largely to be attributed to the ever narrower quarters in which people are living in our towns and cities to-day. Just as people no longer have any room for libraries, so they no longer have any room for a casket at the time of death. But why don't they go to the churches? *Why don't they go to the churches?* That's a question worth thinking about, especially by those complacent persons who juggle the statistics which "prove" that there never were so many church members in the United States as there are to-day! The fact is that an ever increasing number of people never go to church, and have nothing to do with churches. Death is the last tie which would naturally bind them to the religious institution, and even this is beginning to ravel and will ultimately snap. And yet the ecclesiastical officials, like the European statesmen in face of an immanent international collapse, are content to do nothing.

Other Religions—and Ours

This is an old story to the readers of UNITY. Upon the foundation of such a story this organ had its beginnings, and to this foundation it has remained loyal. Just now lots of other voices are telling the same story. The story runs somewhat as follows:

A person's religion is largely dependent upon the accident of birth. If you had been born in Egypt at any time during the eleventh century before Christ, for instance, you would have found yourself in the midst of a highly developed civilization. Upon every hand were splendid temples of worship, and striking and unmistakable evidences of a highly developed religious sense. Your religion under these circumstances would have been decided for you and you would have paid your devotions in the presence of the Egyptian pantheon of gods. If you had been born in India, and properly born, you would have inherited the religious faith incorporated in the Vedas of the Aryan settlers, which contain some of the noblest utterances to be found in the religious scriptures of any race or age. If you had been born in Greece during the age of Pericles, and you would have been a very fortunate person to have been born then, you would have worshipped at the shrine of those gods dedicated to beauty, to the forces of nature, before which man has constantly stood in wonder and amazement. If you had been born in Persia you would have been a disciple of Zoroaster. Had your birth taken place in Tibet, or Japan, or China you would have been a follower of Buddha. If in Arabia, you would have been a Mohammedan. If in Palestine, or on the East Side of New York City, you would be a Jew. But of course most of us were not born in any of these places; and because we happen to have been born in America instead of in India, or Persia, or Arabia, we are Christians rather than Parsees, or Buddhists, or Brahmins, or Mohammedans. It is very largely a matter which is decided by the accident of birth.

Now the lines of demarkation between these great religions of the world are much less distinct than they were a short time ago. The discoveries of science, the development of intercommunication between the remotest parts of the earth, the conclusions of skillful observers into the early record of man's life, all point to the inescapable conclusion that these religions contain a great deal more in common than was formerly recognized. The conventional classification of the religions of the world divides them into two parts, the true and the false. Christianity is the true religion, and all the rest are false. Happily this classification is being rapidly abandoned for the reason that Christianity took over an enormous amount of material from these other religions when it started out, and without these elements which it holds in common with them, would be quite unrecognizable.

Furthermore a good many people are quite seriously asking the question today whether Christianity is the final word in religion. No thoughtful person will of course question the incalculable influence, for better or worse, which Christianity has exercised upon the civilization of the Western world. But the brief period since the advent of Christianity, has seen the birth of at least one great religion, Mohammedanism, which counts its adherents by the hundreds of millions; and he would be a very rash prophet to deny the possible development of some other religion which would enable man to adapt himself to his environment, to settle the quarrels which make the earth hideous, more successfully than Christianity appears capable of doing.

And yet the practice of minimizing these differences between one religion and another can hardly be considered as having reached that stage of popularity among the churches, of a universal indoor sport. If you are supporting a Christian missionary to convert the Heathen, so called, to your religion, and spending your perfectly good money to do it, of course you can't but hope that he will see the light from your point of view. Where your treasure is there will your heart be also.

Now these various systems of religion have all developed within the period of recorded history. To be sure the beginnings of many of them, notably the religions of Egypt and India, go back to a time of which we have no record; and some of them, such as those of Greece and Rome, have become extinct; excepting in so far as they have made an indelible impression upon other religions which have survived. But in order to make such a story complete, of one's search for the religion which is behind the religions, he ought to go much further back than the period of recorded history. And when he does that he finds that the elements which are held in common by these religions are also found in the religion of primitive man.

In the year 1856 a discovery of a skull was made near Dusseldorf, Germany, which has since been classified by ethnologists as belonging to Neanderthal man, so called. He was a loose-limbed fellow, we are told, short of stature and slouching gait; but a skillful artificer, fashioning beautifully worked flints with a characteristic style. He used fire, he buried his dead reverently, and engaged upon a great many other practices which are quite fundamental to our civilization. As to the age of Neanderthal man there may quite legitimately be striking differences of opinion. Mr. Wells is conservative, and places the age of this lonely skull at fifty thousand years; while others are quite certain that nothing short of a quarter of a million years can account for it. Now what sort of religion did this man profess? Probably he was animistic in his religious reactions. He peopled the world with spirits

and ghosts. Very likely he had what Prof. Goldenweiser speaks of as the Religious Thrill, which from his point of view is the first and the last factor in the irreducible minimum of religion. But however far back you go in your examination of those individuals and races who have left no written record, you will find some manifestation of religious belief and practice. And the significant part of it is that this entire development, so far as we can judge from the most painstaking observation, is of a single piece. There are certain elements which are constantly cropping out; and we may be quite certain that the ideas and practices of Neanderthal man are a part of the same current as that which inspires the most dignified and conventional worship of modern Christianity.

Now what are some of these elements which are common to all the religions, and which justify us in affirming that religion is one? What do they all hold, more or less, in common? The first of the common elements is the Idea of God. They all believe in God, in some form. To the sophisticated mind of the Western World these forms sometimes appear slightly out of proportion. At an early stage there is Animism—those first intimations of a power not themselves. Then Polytheism peoples the whole universe, and especially the world of nature with an indefinite pantheon of gods; and then finally the concept of Monotheism, of a single God, seems to crown the ambitious search of man into the secrets of his Creator. It is a good thing for us to refesh our memory in such matters occasionally for we are going to spare ourselves a terrific shock if we are quite prepared to find that some of our most treasured bits of belief, which we had thought to be our peculiar treasure, have been bandied about in the commonest fashion for untold centuries. In Christian theology one of the most firmly established beliefs appears to be the doctrine of the trinity. Strike at that, and you strike at the heart of the whole thing. Probably to an overwhelming number of those who accept the traditional creeds of the church, this is a peculiar and unique element of religious faith not to be found in any other place. The most casual observation, however, reveals the fact that the belief in the trinity, like everything else, is the result of a long period of evolution in the idea of God. The Hindus, the Persians, and the Greeks, the three most philosophically developed peoples, all have clearly defined doctrines of the trinity. When we sing our hymns to the God of the earth, the air, and the sea, we are but echoing what the Egyptian of a good many centuries ago had in mind in the creation of his triad of Osiris, Isis, and Horus. The earliest religions were frankly and joyously polytheistic. For untold centuries this idea of a plurality of gods such as obtained in Egypt, Greece and Rome had been woven into the unconscious fibre of the people's minds and spirits. Now Judaism and Christianity are monotheistic religions, and when the Greeks and Romans were invited to come over and embrace Christianity it wasn't an easy matter to cast off the conceptions of God to which they had been accustomed, and adapt themselves to this pure monotheism which Jesus and the Jews had affirmed. So the idea of the Christian trinity came in very handily to enable these Pagan converts to feel more at home in the house of the Lord. At least so one story goes of the way Christianity got its trinity. In any case the first thing which these religions have in common is a belief in God, whether one or many.

The second element of this universal religion, or of this religion common to all the religions is to be found in what might be called their Sacred Acts. They all believe in prayer. And sometimes as in the case of the prayer of the Blackfoot Indian Chief who prays for rain, and for his people that they may live long and happy lives; or as in the fashion which Jesus taught his disciples to pray, these petitions rise to heights of beauty and nobility. Next after the offering of prayer, might be suggested the act of purification, as a sacred act common to all the religions. In these acts of purification among the religious ceremonies of the Pueblo Indians, fire plays a prominent part. They kindle a great fire, about which they execute their sacred dances. Many of the younger men and women leap into the flames, and believe themselves thereby to become proof against attacks in the future. In these acts of purification among all religious groups, however, water is more common as a medium. In the ancient mystery cults one of the chief elements of the ceremony of sanctification consisted in sprinkling the members with water from the sacred springs. Now all this has passed over into the Christian tradition in the form of Baptism, and one of the great denominations of Protestant Christianity is built up very largely upon the efficacy of this ceremony. Still another of these sacred acts common to all the religions is the Sacrificial ceremony. The bread and wine of the Christian sacrament perpetuate the memory of the most exalted sacrifice known to religious tradition. But this sacrament is quite definitely a survival of older forms, on the one hand of the Paschal lamb, borrowed from the Jewish Passover; and the substitution of wine as in the Dionysian mysteries for the blood of the sacrificial God.

Another element which serves to unite these religions of such apparent diversity, lies in the emphasis which they all place upon the moral life. In the first place we have to remember that at heart man is a moral creature. He has within him something which we speak of as the voice of conscience and which assists him in the distinctions which he is called upon to make between right and wrong. Now quite obviously at different times, and at different places the fashion in which the voice of conscience has spoken has been contradictory. It is altogether certain that many of the moral stand-

ards of the Old Testament would be quite shocking if applied literally today, even in the midst of our exquisite demonstration of moral decay. We can say this much for the great religions of the past however, that morality, as morality was then understood, was consecrated and enforced by religious motives and sanctions.

Here then, among others, are the elements which are common to all the religions of the past and present; the idea of God, the performance of sacred acts, and the pursuit of a moral ideal. To this extent at least Christians everywhere may reach out the hand of fellowship to fellow believers in the remotest quarter of the globe, with the happy assurance that each in his own way is contributing to a better understanding of the mystery of life. Whittier cuts through the artificial boundaries which religions have thrown around themselves, when he sings:

> Nor bounds, nor clime, nor creed thou know'st:
> Wide as our need thy favors fall;
> The white wings of the Holy Ghost
> Stoop, unseen, o'er the heads of all.

ALSON H. ROBINSON.

The Outlawry of War

A sermon preached by Dr. Emil G. Hirsch to his Congregation at Sinai Temple, Chicago, May 22, 1922, on proposals of Mr. S. O. Levinson to Outlaw War and to form an International Court. Reported by Harry Malcolm.

I shall this morning, my dear friends, be a mere speaking tube. The thoughts to which I shall try to give adequate wording are not my own originally. They become my own through study and through earnest consideration, but the originator of the plan and of the thought is one of our own members, Mr. Salmon O. Levinson, who at the same time is what in military language they would call the *"officiate de laison,"* the officer establishing the connection between us and our co-religionists. I use that word advisedly, our co-religionists of the Lincoln Centre. He is their president and one of our members and not merely a passive member but active in all the things that we are standing for.

Now it is his thought that I shall interpret this morning to you and even my phrasing and my variations are not my own. They are the echoes of the Rev. John Haynes Holmes' sermon on the plan proposed by Mr. Levinson, and Mr. Holmes, you know, is the greatest preacher that we have in America. He is the most courageous man in our pulpit, none excepted. For his convictions he would gladly go to the stake. He will not look either to the right or to the left if the call comes to him to speak out and whenever he speaks out he speaks out boldly and valiantly.

Now it is his phrasing, to a large extent, and the original thought by Mr. Levinson, that I shall attempt to repeat and to echo to you this morning. I feel constrained to do this because I know that but few of you, my friends, are readers of UNITY, published in this city, originally founded by Mr. Jones of blessed memory and now continued by Mr. Holmes and Mr. Neilson. I take pleasure in utilizing this moment to bring to you my opinion, that among all the weeklies published in this city or elsewhere, there is none deserving your cordial support as strongly as UNITY, and I hope many of you will feel moved to subscribe to UNITY and become constant readers. UNITY is practically the prophetic message—messenger—of our own fundamental conception of religion and humanity. It comes nearer being the exponent of good old Jewish prophetic thought and aspiration than any other publication that is current under the name of Jewish. None excepted, even my own little weekly is not excepted. UNITY stands out alone like a mountain peak, towering among all others in its devotion to the high thought of prophetic religion, in its dedication to everything that is making for a better and a more united humanity.

Now in UNITY Mr. Levinson's ideas were first spread abroad and in UNITY I read the comments on that plan by my master colleague, John Haynes Holmes of New York.

You, perhaps, have heard a little about the idea of Mr. Levinson. He proposes to outlaw war. We have all had the sad satisfaction of witnessing a war of atrocities and with the horrors of war during the fearful years of strife and contention, of passion and prejudice that lie behind us, and just now, after the so-called conclusion of peace, such peace as it is, we have again had the occasion to learn of the futility of war.

War accomplishes nothing. War helps nothing. War does not dethrone wrong and does not enthrone right. This is certainly the conclusion forced upon us, and the conviction driven home to all of us who are thinkers, by the conditions of the world at large immediately following upon the conclusion of the armistice and the drafting of the treaty of peace at Versailles.

War has been a deceiver and all of our expectations have been dashed to the ground. Now it is largely, or to a certain extent, I hold, under the painful impression of this experience that Mr. Levinson has thought out a plan different from any yet proposed to end war —to have the nations learn that war is futile and that war is atrocious and to find the method of putting an end to the possibility of the world again resorting to arms for the settlement of international conflicts and for the removal of international friction.

Of course, we have had before this day, before the outbreak of the last war, peace conferences, international meetings, whereat certain regulations were adopted to mitigate the horrors of war, to forbid the use of this or that instrument of destruction, to prevent resorting to this or that method of undoing the enemy. These international conventions, convened at the Hague, for instance, have however not been productive of any results. If they have done anything, it is to deepen the animosities between the nations. Rather than preventing war they have fomented the causes of war; rather than teaching the nations to appreciate living together harmoniously and peacefully these international conventions have always left behind a sting in the heart and a feeling of disappointment in the mind of one or the other of the participants and they have been stepping-stones to war and provocations to the outbreak of conflicts.

If you remember the story of the last forty years, you need no further proof on my part to verify this sweeping contention that all the so-called peace and arbitration conferences have issued in the very reverse of what the nations had in their childlike expectations thought they would accomplish.

The latest of these meetings has come to a disastrous close. You know the general way delegates are going home, deeply disappointed and deeply angered. France certainly will harbor from the meeting in Genoa anything but peaceful resolutions. France believes it has been cheated, that it has not been treated fairly and with this feeling the participants of French nationality in our Washington Disarmament Conference went home too. They thought France had lost prestige and instead of examining their own conscience and finding whether they were themselves to blame, placed the guilt upon the others. France went home from Washington in a much more bellicose frame of mind. The very thought that the United States might interfere with France's submarines was distasteful and the whole French nation rose in unanimous protest against the attempt. They charged England with attempting to regulate submarines and a French commander in the French Navy, did not hesitate to declare what before him Lord Fisher had declared, himself an admiral of the English Navy, that the Germans did not do anything he would not have done, in case of war, with their submarines; and this position is easily understood. War is atrocious. You cannot win a war by hurling bottles of *eau de cologne* at your enemy. It is brought about by destruction, destruction by any means you have at your command, by any way that seems effective and if you are unfortunate or fortunate enough to have new inventions of Satanic deviltry, you must loose them and use them without compunction. War is inhuman.

Some of the military men contend, and they are not exclusively of Teutonic race or origin, that it is the greatest humanity in war to be as inhuman as you possibly may be, for that will induce your opponent to lay down his arms all the more speedily; and that it is the aim of war, to disarm your enemy, and if you can accomplish that by wiping out from the face of the earth whole cities, by condemning to death by slow starvation all the children and the men and the women in them, you are accomplishing your purpose in the most humane manner. For the more extensive your operations, the more destructive they are, the surer you will be of accomplishing the aim, the subjection and defeat of your enemy. You shorten the duration of war by waging it cruelly and without consideration; that is the contention of the military men, and not merely the German military men.

This quotation was taken from an Englishman, Lord Fisher, the commander of the English Navy, who wrote a letter to Von Tirpitz: "My dear Tirpitz: I would have used the submarine just as you have used them and don't you mind this talk about inhumanity." That was the English admiral. Consult his memoirs in two volumes and you will find there in that military mentality the same strain, no matter what national flag it claims to follow and to support.

We have been impressed by the brutality of war and war has to be brutal. Somebody said Moses accomplished something which no one else has accomplished—he broke the ten commandments in one hour. When he came down from Mount Sinai, you remember the story, he heard down below the shouts of joy, of the worshippers dancing around the golden calf, and seized by superb indignation Moses could not control himself any longer but he threw down the tablets of stone and broke them—therefore it is said that Moses broke all ten commandments at once.

War does the same thing. War is the violation of every one of the ten commandments. Thou shalt not kill. War says thou must kill and if a soldier in the ranks had refused to fire the gun when the captains had given the order, that soldier would be put against the wall and shot. You must kill and the only excuse you have for killing is that if you don't kill you will be killed yourself, and where there is a question between you and the other, of course, you take the benefit of the doubt for yourself.

But war does not merely violate the commandment: Thou shalt not kill. It violates every other commandment: Thou shalt not covet. In war they all covet and they desire to get hold of the property of their enemy without any compunction or forms of conscience. And again all the other laws. Thou shalt not commit unchastity. Unchastity is the shadow that follows war—wherever it has been declared and by whatever nation it has been waged.

Then again: Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor: War is today becoming an art of lying. In war the whole nation can lie and every newspaper will lie, will lie for the sake of the cause of its own nation. What floods of lies have been let loose on humanity during the years of the conflict, during the terrible experience of the world war disruption! Every one was fed on lies and governments encouraged the lying crusade and the worse the lie the more effective it was and even the aftermath of the war shows how fatal to morality, to every consideration of ethics, war is.

We are now crying out all over the world against the turbid tide, which has risen after the days of the armistice, of war and criminality, of civil and social war. We can no longer walk the streets of our city with a sense that we are protected from every lurking corner, from every den and from every dark place, from men and women who seemingly have no further compunction to take life and property.

That is the natural result of this fever of lying and this fever of destructiveness which came upon us, a fever which some of us tried to staunch, and for which we, the few of us, who raised our voices in warning, had to pay the penalty.

You know that was my crime. I could not indulge in the glorification of war while war was on and what might have been the result? You know, my friends, if you had not been loyal to the teachings of our religion, had not been loyal to your friendship to me (and I take this opportunity of thanking you for the support you gave me in those critical days) when some that were not thoughtful regarded their opportunity as having come to do harm to me. They hadn't learned the law, they had forgotten: Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor—and without any hesitation, just as in wartime everybody does, they violated the very compact of honesty, the compact of loyalty and charged me with things which I never did, which no one could have proven I had done, but they relied upon the mob spirit which in those days was round about, the mob spirit which could easily be fired to fever heat, and then what would have been the result? If you had not stood by me, my dearest friends, in your sober consideration of what I had preached and

I had not preached, you might not be here this morning listening to me talk on the eve of by 71st birthday, but instead you would have looked at my grave in the cemetery.

That is what might have happened to me and that is the result of the war spirit. Every consideration is waved aside except one, to conquer the enemy, to put the enemy under your feet. That is what war does.

We have the Latin phrase: *Vae Victis*—woe unto the conquered. Rome oppressed all the world. She marked the one that was defeated as a helpless and a hopeless victim of the whim and caprice of the desire for revenge of the hatred of the conqueror.

Now we have not progressed beyond this. The so-called treaty of peace at Versailles is thus conceived and is expressed in this spirit of the old Roman statecraft: *Vae Victis*—woe unto those that have not succeeded in battle.

The nations had been warned by their own writers, the English reading people certainly had been warned by a great man, that all war is illusion, that whatever you expect to get out of war you don't get out of war and today we know that it is not merely: *Vae Victis* —that the burden is not merely upon those that are defeated, that we have good reason now to say: "Woe to the victorious—woe unto the nations that have conquered, that have been successful."

There isn't a nation in Europe, and we even feel the effect of that condition, that is not economically today in the dumps. There is no nation in Europe that is not today confronting the spectre of poverty, of unemployment, anarchy and social dissolution as the direct result of the war.

War is a great delusion, it is a great deceiver. The former generations living on the earth had some consolation in their belief in the efficacy and in the justice of war. They classed war with what they called the "God ordeal." In medieval times when there was doubt of the guilt or the innocence of the one accused, the accused was submitted to a process of peculiar investigation. He was put to a peculiar test. For instance, if a woman was charged with witchcraft this is how they decided whether she was an adept or not in witchcraft. They didn't take her to court or consult medical authority, they threw her into the river. If she swam on top she wasn't a witch, if she sank, she was a witch. If she sank and drowned that was the end of the matter. There was no appeal from that decision and they thought that was the God decision and called it the "God ordeal." They made people walk on hot irons. If the soles were not blistered, the charge was false, if the sole was blistered, then the accused was convicted by God's own sign and verdict of the crime with which he was charged. That is called a "God ordeal" and in the same way they looked upon war. They looked upon war as a divine decision on which side of the balance the right was.

If a nation was victorious, then the right was with that nation. If the nation was defeated, then God had thundered forth, above all the din of the battlefield that the defeated was a nation of criminals, the victorious were angelic.

Even Napoleon, who was a deep thinker, knew better. He did not think that God was always on the side of the victorious. He said: "God was with the armies with more bayonets and cannon." We know that is true. The decision of the battlefield never settles any moral issue.

One nation hadn't ammunition enough to meet the superior supply of other nations, or perhaps it shows that one nation, in its ranks, has a military genius, a man like Moltke or a Napoleon and therefore his superior strategy brought about the result, but it is not a proof that God was with the victorious army. We have made fun of the psychopathic insane monomaniac that ruled to Germany's great detriment for the last forty years. We have made fun of the expression: *"Gott mit uns."* We even believed that he had the notion that in the ranking of the proper values, God came after him. It should not be "God and I," but "I and God,"—a sign that the poor man was a monomaniac. We can understand that.

You take a boy and let him be petted from youth up: "You are the greatest that ever was. You are the greatest and brightest young man that ever drew breath. You have power and you must use it and there is no accounting what you have to give for the use of your power. God and you are really cousins. You and God are almost identical."

Now let a boy grow up with that whispered into his ears by everybody from morning to night, let a man grow up that every knee will bend before him; he naturally will grow into a monomaniac, an egotist, and that is what Germany had to contend with, a monomaniac on the throne. He believed God and he were identical. We made fun of that and we were justified, but the theory on which war is justified is none other than that God Himself will intervene and decide the issue of the battle and those that come out of the battle victorious are marked by God's own finger to be right and their cause is proclaimed thereby to be righteous.

Now we have all felt that for many years and we have tried to mitigate the horrors of war, which is illogical for war is horrible. You cannot mitigate the horrors of war. We have tried to mitigate the inhumanities and immoralities of war. We have not succeeded and whenever discordant nations have devised to come together in conference, as at the Hague or elsewhere, the result has always been negative. There has been no outcome of real good fellowship. Quite to the contrary. Every one of the conferences in the last forty years has resulted in feeding anew ancient animosities.

Beginning with the conference at Berlin, which came after the Russo-Turkish war, beginning with that conference, the students of European policies and movements on the chess boards of international politics, knew at once that with that conference an element was introduced into Europe that did not augur well for the peace of the European continent.

You know why Russia had at that time really defeated Turkey, and what has been accomplished in the last war Russia was to do then, to dismember Turkey, to put an end to that sick man's rule at the Bosphorus. Then England felt and demanded not Russia's ascendancy but quite the reverse. Therefore England threatened to go to war with Russia on the issue of the dismemberment of the Turkish Empire.

At that time came Jingoism. You may remember that it came because they had a ditty, a sort of gutter song, in which the English said: "We have the money and ships, by jingo! we shall fight." Fight who? Russia. In that crisis Bismarck made one of the mistakes of his political career. He thought it wise to bring the people together. Borshurkif met Disraeli,

the English statesman, and he advised that they might come to Berlin and they came to Berlin with the result that of course Russia had her ambitions curtailed. Russia's plan was rejected, Russia was compelled to yield to England and Turkey was once more installed a power near the Dardanelles and the Turkish Empire subsisted until after the conference, when it was dismembered. Then, mark you, England thought it necessary for her safety in England to keep Turkey a power but later on she changed her mind and she made an alliance with the very Russia she had dared to a combat. Bismarck was looked upon by both as the disturber.

England distrusted Germany after the Berlin conference. That did not succeed. It was Bismarck's work. He interfered and from that moment on Russia began to arm, with the result later on of the conflict with Germany.

Then came the publication of a Jew, Block, the counsellor in St. Petersburg in the Russian government and a great engineer. He took the point that war is simply horrible, that the very inventions that we are making, the very discoveries that our scientists do make were weapons of war, were new weapons of destruction more horrible than any before, that instead of killing thousands hereafter millions will be killed, for we have then, so said Block, the great engines of destruction of which the ancients knew nothing. We shall not have the breech-loading but the magazine or machine gun, not merely the ordinary powder but the explosive, and the men will throw bombs and grenades that explode, and the wounds that will defy all the medical skill in these wars are wounds caused by high explosive. And we shall have the poison gases and airplanes and they will throw down from the heights over the unsuspecting and unexpecting cities these poisonous gases and these gases will kill thousands where the ordinary shot of an ordinary artillery piece might kill perhaps one or two. That was Block's contention. He submitted to Alexander the Third this plan and he moved that the Hague conference be called together. That Conference resulted in nothing except the distrust of one nation against the other. The central governments of Europe were not ready yet to disarm, they distrusted the honesty of their neighbors.

Therefore, at the conclusion of the Hague conference everybody pointed at the central governments. The Hague conference brought about the distrust of the central governments which brought the whole world to distrust and hate these central powers. When the war finally came on and the Czar, Alexander the Third, who had been instrumental under the influence of Mr. Block's argument and presentation of facts, who under that impression seemed to have been ready to end the rule of the sword, to sheathe the sword forever, went to Paris and in Paris he, the Czar, stood with head uncovered—a sight for the gods to laugh at—while the French soldiers passed by and the French military band played what? The Marseillaise. Think of it! The Czar, representing the most autocratic form of tyranny that ever was allowed to inflict the race, the Czar at salute while the French bands were playing.

There he stood, a tyrant himself, worse than any of the others. Why did he come? Why did he, the tyrant, go to the French Republic? Because he wanted to be sure that in the conflict he was preparing against the central governments he would have the aid of the French Republic. Therefore he forewent all his self-respect, he stood there listening, as if under ecstasy, the battle cry, "Let us walk forth to the battle field." That he listened to without grimace—inwardly he had contempt for the song. When he came back from Paris he stood by very quietly while in Russia they killed the Jews by hundreds and thousands. That was his liberalism.

When he came back it was considered a crime to say *swoboda*. *Swoboda* in Russian means liberty. Even to say liberty was a crime which could not be tolerated and he, the representative of this system of liberty, went to Paris. He would never have gone if it hadn't been for the Hague conferences. And so with the Algeciras conference.

At Algeciras they tried to come to an understanding regarding Morocco. With France, England and Spain they met and drafted a plan to obliterate all frictions arising from the desire of Germany to participate in the colonial trade that had so far been monopolized by France and England. They drew up the most perfect plan. What was the result? Before the ink of the signatures of the French Republic had yet dried the French walked into Morocco, occupied the Fez and dethroned the Sultan.

Then when a little gunboat was sent to Algiers to remind the French and English that Germany was not satisfied with the occupation of French troops in Morocco misunderstanding arose. Why should it be the business of Germany to know what happened in Morocco? Why should France occupy Morocco? They would not have dreamed of it had it not been for the conference.

Now you say how do I know all this? I have my information from the original sources, for it so happens that I am able to read all these diplomatic contracts, all these diplomatic decisions in the original tongues and able to translate the documents whether they are in French or Latin or Russian. I am able to translate these documents without difficulty. For Russian occasionally I have to go to a dictionary and it takes a little longer sometimes, but with a Danish or Dutch document I have no trouble. Therefore my information is not second hand.

The Berlin conference, you know, settled the question of Bosnia, a section of the Balkan peninsula, by inviting Austria to occupy that section of the Balkan peninsula to pacify that section, and Austria was foolish enough to do it. She spent millions and sacrificed men by the hundreds to get that section. They built bridges and schools and after having occupied that territory according to the stipulation of the conference at Berlin for forty years, they reasoned in Austria, we might follow the English example, for under the same arrangement England had been assigned to "protect," as they called it, the Island of Cyprus.

England became the "protector" of the Island of Cyprus. England after protecting it annexed it. It was the best protection she knew. Austria thought she could try her hand and she annexed what had been given to her by the stipulation of the Berlin treaty.

In these late years we have a new word for that round about way. Today we don't talk of protection, today we call it mandate. That is one of the legacies left by our late President, Mr. Wilson. He invented that word, a very beautiful word. It sounds well and smells sweet, but it really means the same thing as was meant in the treaty of Berlin—protect—and you know what protection means.

I merely have gone into these things, not because Mr. Levinson has preceded me but to bring home to you how futile, how ineffective, have been the attempts to stem war by international meetings and international conferences. We have not even succeeded by that means of establishing an international court and that is the second point in the plan and in the project of our fellow member, Mr. Levinson, the establishment of a court.

After we codify all international laws and after we get every nation to incorporate these international laws in the laws of their own country and nationality, we need an international court.

As things are now, even under the League of Nations, you read the nations established a court. It hasn't as much power as an ordinary police justice in Chicago. That court can issue no writ that anybody is bound to respect or obey. They cannot go into an issue that is presented or think ought to be presented. They are powerless. They are figureheads. They look well on paper and that is hailed as a great advance.

We need a court with power and we must therefore take the first step and that is what Mr. Levinson has in mind and his view has been indorsed by Mr. Holmes, and by senators, by men and women of thought, men and women with heart and mind.

We must outlaw war. You know what that means. At the present time war is not outlawed. Horrible as it is, atrocious as it is, it is perfectly lawful. We talked about the ruler of Germany, that monomaniac that ought to have been confined years ago in a good insane asylum, we talked of him as a criminal and occasionally again you run across that word in connection with him in our daily papers. What has he done? He declared war. That was his right under the constitution of Germany and the nations had acknowledged him as the ruler of Germany and thereby had given their assent to recognizing the constitution of Germany. By the constitution of Germany the Kaiser had the legal right to declare war. It was not a criminal act, it was a legal act and the nations had recognized the legality of that act by holding intercourse with him, by congratulating him, even on his birthday, even the last birthday he celebrated as Kaiser he received a despatch of heartiest cordial congratulation sent across the ocean by our President, Mr. Wilson.

A few months later the one who had been congratulated that he was born and was wished to have an extended life had become a criminal. So our President had recognized him and recognizing him implied the recognition of the duties and prerogatives conferred upon him by the constitution of Germany.

There is in the declaration of war no illegality and every nation on the face of the globe has made provisions for making war legal in their constitution. We also have the provision how, and under what conditions war may be declared. Of course it doesn't rest entirely with the President, though we know the President can manipulate foreign affairs in such a way that when the crisis comes there is only one word throughout the nation: We have come to this crisis. No matter how, the crisis is here, we must act, we must stand behind our President. Just as in Germany they said we must stand behind the Kaiser.

The President couldn't declare war but he could get Congress to declare war, and no Congress will say "No" when the President speaks. In our own constitution war is legalized. The only war that is not legalized is war within the nation. If we rise against our own government, that is illegal and no nation can recognize us as belligerents.

In the days of the rebellion we had to fear that England might confer the rights of belligerents on the Southern confederacy. That would have given the Southern confederacy the right to receive aid from the non-participants in that conflict and that is what Lincoln had to fear and all his diplomacy was directed toward preventing the recognition of the South as belligerents. As long as they were not belligerents they were outside the law, but war with a nation across the border or ocean is perfectly legal. Now Mr. Levinson proposes and those that have read and studied his plan agree with him, and I give, without any equivocation, without any mental reservation, my full assent to his proposition, if we wish to end war we must make it illegal, we must take away from war the qualities of lawfulness. That can be done. It can be and must be done. You say how? If we establish a court that has the power to summon before it the conflicting nations, the nations that are suspicious of one another, if their causes can be thrashed out in court, if their grievances can be examined judicially and impartially in the court, that is not a proceeding of arbitration. Arbitration is a matter that comes after the conflict has become acute.

Mr. Levinson has in mind something that comes up before the conflict is acute. Each one plays the game openly. That would put an end to the curse of secret diplomacy. We could see what was going on. The court could decide impartially but you will say: "Now suppose the court has decided, what then? If one of the parties to the contract refuses to abide by the decision."

There is a power in this world more potent than any big Berthas or airplanes and that is the power of public opinion or public conscience. That defeated Germany really. The power of public conscience, the force of public condemnation crushed Germany long before the Allied armies had even taken the first step toward it because Germany outraged the conscience of the world not by the declaration of war but by the invasion of Belgium, by the seeming disregard of a treaty that she had made most solemnly and earnestly. A violation of that treaty aroused the conscience of the world, although there was a great deal of hypocrisy about it. That treaty was construed to merely show that Holland was guaranteed the neutrality of Belgium.

In 1832 the Southern Netherlands rose in rebellion against the government of Holland and then Holland resorted to arms and Holland would have crushed the Belgian rebellion if it hadn't been for France. France took Antwerp from Holland and France's interfering forced Holland to yield, but Holland pleaded that she must be guaranteed neutrality on the part of Belgium and then they made this treaty with Holland, not with Belgium, guaranteed to Holland the perpetual neutrality of Belgium.

That has been misunderstood. An English statement declared there was not guarantee to Belgium—the guarantee was to the Netherlands alone. If such a treaty had come into the court, the court would have looked into the circumstances under which the treaty was made, the court would have inquired into all the details of that treaty and would have given its decision.

You say: "Who will force a nation that is recalci-

trant to go into court, who will force a nation to abide by the decisions of the court?"

The court has no international army and therefore they think the first step would be to do again what we want to do away with. An international army for the enforcement of the decrees and decisions of that court is not necessary.

You know that our Supreme Court of the United States has no power to enforce its decrees in cases where a state of the Union is involved. Where a state or two states of the Union have a dispute they can go to the United States Supreme Court but the United States Supreme Court has no power to enforce its decision against the state that was defeated. When the United States constitution was being framed the great statesmen argued that no state should be forced to abide by the decision of the United States Supreme Court, for that would be an invasion of the sovereignty of the state, and no state is today by law forced to abide by the decision rendered against it by the United States Supreme Court. And yet no state has ever ventured to dispute the higher authority of the United States Supreme Court. Why not? Because public opinion, public conscience, are behind that United States Supreme Court. Public opinion and public conscience are more powerful than an army, than any battery of guns, than any fleet of airplanes, than any navy. Public opinion has brought that result about.

There is another case parallel to the case of abolishing war. There was a time when dueling was perfectly lawful. If you killed an antagonist in a duel you were not liable to be sentenced to death for having committed a capital crime. The invasion of your honor was sufficient plea to wave aside any motion that the state might make that you should be punished for manslaughter.

But today, throughout the world, dueling has come to its end. One who kills in a duel is a murderer. That is all he is and the courts will not allow his plea to stand that he killed to avenge his honor—his honor insulted or injured by his antagonist.

We abolished dueling by the process of educating and developing public opinion. Public opinion accomplished that change and dueling is an exact parallel to war. What is the theory of the duel? It is the theory of the ordeal of which I spoke before. The ordeal reminds you at once of a decision by God and therefore the idea was this. The one that is the insulted, the one that is injured, the one suffering loss will be avenged. The insulter will fall before the bullet shot by the injured and insulted. God will interfere and bring it about that the one who betrayed the confidence of his friend, who invaded the domestic sanctuary of the friend's family and who abused the wife of his friend, he will fail.

Now we know that isn't true. In many a duel the very fellow doing the injury shot the poor man who had submitted to the injury, upon whom the insult was inflicted—shot him to death. God does not seem to interfere in these things, though in ancient times people believed He would and there are still some who have this notion, that God really is nothing but a policeman.

That is the God idea today, that is underlying the war idea. God is the international policeman with his tremendous club. He will club the nation in the wrong into submission. He will fight with the battalions that follow the flag of righteousness and whatever flag is victorious is thereby marked the flag of righteousness. Against that idea of course we have to contend but that idea is dying out. We must formulate public opinion on this question and the only radical cure is to make war unlawful and then you will have public opinion against any nation that commits this crime, that makes itself an outlaw.

There are other means by which to bring nations to term and time. We learned that in India. The policy of non-resistance is much more effective and much more terrible for the tyrant and oppressor than any forceful resistance. In India England is learning the lesson of non-resistance. It is the terror of all tyrants, it is the undoing of all despotism and now that same force of non-resistance can be applied in the case of a nation that will not abide by the decision of the international court. Non-resistance in that case would take the guise of non-communication. We would close the frontiers to the nation that would not abide by the compact of our new humanity. We would have no intercourse with that nation.

As soon as we have this new form of non-resistance in international law, war will be a thing of the past and we come nearer to the time of which the old Jewish prophets have dreamed, of which they spoke, the time when nation will no longer learn war and no nation will again lift the sword against another nation.

Well, what can you and I do, you ask me. We can help make public opinion. We helped to make public opinion during the war time. We helped to raise the cries of hate, we helped that time, each one of us, to be blind to all the suggestions of truthfulness.

We allowed ourselves to be victims of propaganda and propaganda means an inundation of lies, it means a deluge of stories that are not true. You doubt that? Read what the English papers wrote of our Northern army when battling the Southern army. Read the London *Times* of those years and you find Mr. Lincoln is there declared as a despot and a tyrant, as a monkey escaping from the jungles of Asia and Africa, with an African temperament. The soldiers of our Northern armies are stated as doing things to Southern women. Read what the Swiss men said about the Boers in the Boer War.

The English soldiers did what others are supposed to have done in Belgium. Here you have what propaganda is—it is a crusade of lies. It is a poisoning of the public mind by lies.

Let our minds be enlightened for once by a fertile thought; by humane thought we can make public opinion.

Let us go hence and think of the proposition of our fellow member, Mr. Levinson. Let us be glad we have in our membership this great and good man, this man with a heart for all humanity. Let us rejoice he has become our messenger, our interpreter for our own co-religionists at Lincoln Centre. We believed in the oneness of humanity, we believed in pacifism even before Mr. Jones had a pulpit from which to proclaim his theory of the unity of mankind, his theory of the ultimate destiny of the world to live at peace under the blessing of the faith that makes men faithful, of the faith in our own humanity, in the humanity of every man, whatever be his birthplace, whatever be his mother tongue, whatever be the color of his skin or whatever be the contour of his face,—one humanity, one God and a court before which to bring the national causes of friction, the national disputes, openly, in the spirit of judicial inquiry.

If we have that, then war will be no more and our

grand-children will grow up without that spectre of horror before them, without the thought that one day their young lives must be given up at the altar of a demon of destruction, a monster of hate, a fetish of national glory, a fetish of national supremacy.

Let humanity be supreme and every nation will have what is its nation's duty and right to have; every nation will be independent, a free co-operator with all other nations on the face of the globe, and with this thought, dear friends, let us go hence.

Let us work together with Mr. Levinson and Mr. Holmes for the bringing about in our own country of the sentiment that war shall not be palliated, must not be palliated, but must be uprooted, that war must be declared an outlaw by international law as it is now declared an outlaw and outrage by the higher morality, by the decree of the noblest and best religions. Let us have one duty, one congregation throughout all the earth. The earth is God's and the fulness thereof is His glory; the fulness of the earth is interfered with when nations are brought to the dagger point of hate, to the dagger point of distrust, when nations come to blows on the bloody battlefield. Then God's earth is not full and His glory is diminished. Let us work toward this end by whomsoever it may be. The whole earth belongs to that earth and the fulness of that earth is God's glory. Amen. Amen.

CORRESPONDENCE

War a Duty?

To the Editor of UNITY:

Sir—In David Starr Jordan's appreciation of Mr. Robert Young, he says that he had "always striven against these forces which make for war, he denounced the policies that led towards the brink. When, however, the worst came he did not flinch in his duty. War once begun could not be shirked, but must be seen through."

I think it cannot be too often reiterated that war is not and should not be "a duty." What more do the militarists want than this? What we want are more people who will say as did the editor of UNITY—Jenkin Lloyd Jones—that "no government could make him go against the convictions of a lifetime, and sanction this crime." When are we to understand that the weak pacifist is one of the greatest menaces to any country? That he helps to strengthen the position of the militarists who argue for the necessity for armed force in national relations?

When a man, unsurpassed as an idealistic advocate of mass-murder, urged us into the late war, people said that he was a "pacifist"—and that if he saw the necessity for this country entering the war, we must take his word for that "necessity." So we went into the war, prolonged it, made possible the shameful blockade which was worse than the war, and added millions to the "dead and wounded." In other words we accepted the specious plea that it was our "duty" to fight and kill our brother men, disobeying the law which is at the heart of every great religion, "Thou shalt not kill."

Another war is upon us—a continuation of the war which has been waged over the straits (not the "freedom"—but the *control* of the straits) in ancient times and ever since. The subtlest kind of preparation has been going on for months, to the end that the United States shall go into this war. It is to be a war for "civilization" and "Christianity." Then there is a sub-cause, discussion of which was kept out of sight till diplomats wanted it in view. But the sub-sub-cause is what Americans should comprehend—the desire which has persisted since ancient times—the desire to control the water-way between the Mediterranean and the Black Sea.

The test is again to be made—whether our pacifist principles are to hold during war-time, that is to say, whether they are worth anything! How many of us are ready for that test?

MARY C. TRASK.

The Abolitionists and Compromise

To the Editor of UNITY:

In your issue of 11 January, under the caption Verbal Brickbats, Mrs. Anna Garlin Spencer deplores the intolerance of reformers who refuse to associate with their less radical brethren. Were the Abolitionists well advised, she asks, to set up as a test of fellowship the demand for "immediate and unconditional emancipation"? Would it not have been better, by restricting the aim to gradual emancipation, with compensation for slaveholders, perhaps to have avoided the Civil War? And ought the peace movement to-day to follow the example of the Abolitionists and refuse to sanction political compromise, or would it be better to accept the League of Nations and attempt to perfect it as an instrument of peace?

These are not easy questions to answer, but it would be difficult to exaggerate their importance; for our future welfare depends on our actions, and they are determined by the policy we adopt, and not by the purity of our intentions. While the Abolitionists stood on the abstract right of human equality they could not be put in a position where they would be partly responsible for acts of oppression. They would have become involved in a fatal contradiction if they had assented to gradual emancipation and the compensation of slaveholders, aside from its being the height of absurdity to compensate the oppressor rather than the oppressed. By keeping free from political entanglements they renounced the use of violence in favor of persuasion and admonition.

It was not the business of the Abolitionists to make the best possible compromise with the slaveholders, but to announce the truth as they saw it. Responsibility for the Civil War must rest with those who approved of it, or took part in it. In so far as the Abolitionists forgot their non-resistant principles in the heat of the conflict they are open to criticism. I am inclined to think that Garrison's natural elation when he perceived that military expediency would demand emancipation blinded him somewhat to the folly of hoping that the cause of freedom would be advanced by a method which is the negation of freedom. While he never changed his fundamental belief in non-resistance, his attitude towards the war weakened his authority as a pacifist, and the non-resistance movement which he had inspired never recovered.

The American Revolution increased the prestige of the soldier and each succeeding war confirmed it, strengthening the centralized government in its progressive invasion of the law of equal freedom. In spite of the Civil War, the real abolition movement is still in its infancy. The Abolitionists were not aware that freedom is primarily dependent upon equality of opportunity in the economic sphere of production and trade. Without attempting to belittle the great fact of negro emancipation, it may be remarked that we are still confronted by the evils of race conflict and wage slavery, evils which have their roots in economic injustice. Nor can we hope for international peace while oil, iron, coal and other natural resources are subject to monopoly, and while trade barriers prevent universal co-operation.

Political governments are well planned for preserving and extending legal privileges which are the well-springs of war. Experience indicates that it is useless to hope to purify politics from within. Only an informed and aroused public opinion can induce the politicians to dissolve their partnership with the monopolists, by abolishing the laws which sanction land monopoly and trade monopoly. To enlighten public opinion and stir the conscience of the privileged classes it may prove necessary to be "as harsh as truth and as uncompromising as justice."

The College Inn, Bryn Mawr, Pa. FRANK W. GARRISON.

A Rebuke

Dear UNITY:

What is the matter with reviewers, why can't they get titles straight? In an issue some time ago of the *Theater Magazine*, a writer at least twice refers to John Barrymore's fine work in "The Jester," whereas he means "The Jest." In UNITY, Dec. 7, in his department, "The Study Table," Frederick Starr at least twice refers to Lowie's fine work "Primitive Society," as "Primitive Sociology." I submit that there is no such thing as "primitive sociology," unless we refer to sociology as taught from certain academic chairs: Lord knows that is "primitive" enough!

Sincerely,

WALTER S. SWISHER.

THE FIELD

"The World is my country, to do good is my Religion"

FELLOWSHIP CONFERENCES.

The Fellowship for a Christian Social Order announces a series of sectional conferences in various parts of the country during the next few months. The purpose of these conferences is the widening of acquaintance and the strengthening of the spiritual bond between those persons who are seeking to effect such fundamental changes in the spirit and structure of the present social order as will make it in accord with the mind of Jesus; and the mutual exchange of ideas concerning industrial and international problems by persons of varied experience—employers, workers, teachers, students, clergymen and other professional men and women. It is hoped that the quality and spirit of the famous Lake Mohonk Conference of last spring may be reproduced in each of these conferences.

Topics

The following topics will be discussed at the various sessions:

Which of the current *industrial and commercial* attitudes and practices are in conflict with the spirit and teaching of Jesus? Which of these should immediately and completely be repudiated by Christian people? What are the hopeful signs of the times in industrial relations?

Which of the current attitudes and practices of modern *international* relations are in conflict with the spirit and teaching of Jesus? Which of these should immediately and completely be repudiated by Christian people? What are the hopeful signs of the times in international relations?

Schedule

The places, dates and names of the conveners of the different conferences are as follows:

BOSTON—FEBRUARY 8-9-10

Conveners: Niles Carpenter, Henry H. Crane, Daniel Evans, Wm. E. Gilroy, Harold Marshall, Norman B. Nash, Ernest H. Tippett, David D. Vaughan.

Correspondent: Rev. Ernest H. Tippett, 316 Huntington Ave., Boston, Mass.

CHICAGO—FEBRUARY 22-23

Conveners: Ernest D. Burton, Henry F. Cope, Ralph E. Diffendorfer, Chas. W. Gilkey, Miss Mary McDowell, Shailer Mathews, Chas. Clayton Morrison, Wm. V. Roosa, W. D. Schermerhorn, Ernest F. Tittle, Miss Harriet Vittum.

Correspondent: Harold R. Willoughby, 139 So. Divinity Hall, Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.

CINCINNATI—MARCH 8-9-10

Conveners: Earle E. Eubank, Mrs. L. C. Fillmore, D. Frank Garland, Miles H. Krumbine, Bruce L. Melvin, W. R. Morrison, Frank H. Nelson, Alva W. Taylor.

Correspondent: Professor Earle E. Eubank, University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, O.

CLEVELAND—APRIL 7-8-9

Conveners: Judge George S. Addams, Judge Florence E. Allen, Senator George H. Bender, F. Q. Blanchard, A. F. Coyle, Joel B. Hayden, Pres. Henry Churchill King, Robert E. Lewis, Franklin G. Smith, Miss Marie R. Wing.

Correspondent: Robert E. Lewis, Y. M. C. A., Cleveland, O.

DENVER—MARCH 2-3-4

Conveners: O. W. Auman, James H. Causey, B. M. Cherrington, Geo. L. Collins, Miss Caroline Goforth, Mrs. Charles M. Kassler, Geo. S. Lackland, Platt R. Lawton, Governor Wm. E. Sweet, Wm. H. Tanner.

Correspondent: B. M. Cherrington, Association Building, Denver, Colo.

DETROIT—APRIL 9-10-11

Conveners: Gaius Glenn Atkins, Lynn Harold Hough, John E. Martin, Reinhold Niebuhr, J. E. Kirkpatrick, Wm. Stidger, A. G. Studer, Bishop Chas. D. Williams.

Correspondent: Rev. Reinhold Niebuhr, 2726 Lothrop Ave., Detroit, Mich.

KANSAS CITY—MAY 10-11-12

Conveners: Henry M. Beardsley, Miss Grace M. Farrell, Mrs. Wm. B. Henderson, Leslie J. Lyons, Ralph C. McAfee, H. L. V. Shinn, Robert Nelson Spencer, James B. Welsh, Francis A. Wright.

Correspondent: Rev. Ralph C. McAfee, 200 Y. M. C. A. Bldg., Kansas City, Mo.

NEW YORK—FEBRUARY 12-13-14

Conveners: S. Z. Batten, S. M. Cavert, R. L. Ewing, Miss Amy Blanche Greene, Miss Louise Holmquist, John M. Moore, A. J. Muste, Mrs. M. K. Simkhovitch, John R. Voris, Gaylord S. White.

Correspondent: Miss Amy Blanche Greene, 150 5th Avenue, New York City.

RICHMOND—APRIL 26-27-28

Conveners: S. B. Cousins, Rolvix Harlan, H. H. Hibbs, H. D. C. Maclachlan, S. C. Mitchell, Carey Montague, Miss Eva Nixon.

Correspondent: Prof. Rolvix Harlan, 2242 Park Avenue, Richmond, Va.

ST. LOUIS—MARCH 5-6-7

Conveners: J. A. Armstrong, Arthur E. Bostwick, A. R. Elliott, Chas. A. Ellwood, Mrs. J. C. January, Geo. B. Mangold, Miss Alice Reynolds, Dean William Scarlett, George B. Winton.

Correspondent: A. R. Elliott, 712 Odd Fellows Bldg., St. Louis, Mo.

Conference Leaders

Among the persons who have agreed to open a discussion or preside over a session at one or more of these conferences are the following:

Henry A. Atkinson, Church Peace Union, New York; Clifford K. Brown, Associate Gen. Sec'y, Boston Y. M. C. A.; Robert W. Bruere, Bureau of Industrial Research, N. Y.; M. P. Burns, Methodist Board of Home Missions, Philadelphia; Richard C. Cabot, Harvard University, Cambridge; Henry Cadbury, Andover Theological Seminary; Raymond Calkins, Congregational Church, Cambridge; Niles Carpenter, Harvard University, Cambridge; E. C. Carter, Exec. Sec'y, Nat'l Conference on the Christian Way of Life; James H. Causey, Boston Building, Denver; S. M. Cavert, General Secretary, Federal Council of Churches; E. B. Chaffee, Labor Temple, New York; A. F. Coyle, Editor, Engineers' Journal, Cleveland; Jerome Davis, Professor Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H.; Angus Dun, Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge; Harrison S. Elliott, Union Theological Seminary, New York; Earle E. Eubank, University of Cincinnati; Daniel Evans, Andover Theological Seminary; Robert L. Ewing, International Committee Y. M. C. A., New York; Henry S. French, Methodist Board of Home Missions; D. Frank Garland, National Cash Register Company, Dayton; Chas. W. Gilkey, Hyde Park Baptist Church, Chicago; Wm. E. Gilroy, Editor, The Congregationalist, Boston; Miss Amy Blanche Greene, Methodist Board of Home Missions, N. Y.; Wm. P. Hapgood, Columbia Conserving Company, Indianapolis; Rolvix Harlan, University of Richmond, Richmond, Va.; A. Eustace Haydon, University of Chicago; Henry T. Hodgkin, National Christian Council, Shanghai; Miss Grace Hutchins, Sec'y, Fellowship of Reconciliation; F. Ernest Johnson, Research Sec'y, Federal Council of Churches; Robert E. Lewis, General Sec-

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Who May Attend?

All members of the F. C. S. O. and all persons who are in sympathy with its purpose are cordially invited to attend these conferences and to participate freely in the deliberations. Members of the Fellowship of Reconciliation are especially invited.

Inquiries concerning local arrangements and hotel accommodations should be sent to *the correspondent listed above under the respective conferences.* Reservations should be made as far in advance as possible. Copies of the various programs may be secured from the correspondents.

Those persons who desire to enroll in the F. C. S. O. may secure an application blank from the above correspondents or from the Secretary of the National Committee, Kirby Page, 311 Division Ave., Hasbrouck Heights, New Jersey. General inquiries may be addressed to the Secretary.

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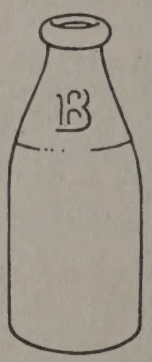

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